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### THE AMERICAN.

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#### NOTES OF THE WEEK.

PERHAPS the most remarked feature of the bituminous coal strike was the admirable discipline and self control exercised by the strikers. Exercising this self restraint, careful not to be goaded into acts of violence by officious deputies, violence was avoided, popular sympathy was won and held and the strike was carried through without serious disturbance of the peace, without bloodshed. Thus we had an impressive lesson of the value of discipline and self control. And as if to burn in this lesson in imperishable letters we have had a terrible exhibit of the disaster and wrong and suffering and bloodshed growing out of the lack of this all important self control. It is needless to say that it is in the anthracite coal fields of eastern Pennsylvania, around Hazleton, that this exhibit of the dire results coming from lack of self restraint has been unfolded. The miners of the Hazleton district were on strike, without that perfected discipline that can come only with permanent organization. They struck without organization save such as could be built in the hour of strike and conflict. Yet it was not these miners who lost self control, but the deputies sworn in to keep the peace.

If the deputies sworn in by the sheriff of Luzerne county to

preserve the peace had exercised the same self control, the same restraint as has been shown by the bituminous coal strikers, it is safe to say that there would have been no firing upon a defenseless, unarmed crowd of miners, that we would not have had to record the wanton slaughter of Hazleton. But self restraint they did lose, and this loss of self restraint was followed by the slaughter of an unresisting mob, a mob that was unarmed and could not have made resistance even if it would.

Of this massacre growing out of what is generally regarded, not indeed by the metropolitan press, but in the district of the trouble, as criminal precipitancy on the part of the deputies, we have written at length on another page. But it will not be out of place to state that the anthracite coal miners of the Hazleton district, in large part Hungarians, Poles and Slavs, ignorant of the English language and ground down by the most pinching of poverty, struck for an amelioration of their lot. The first company affected trifled with its men and differences that could have easily been settled at first gave place to differences of a deeper kind, to resistance against aggressions and protest against grievances common to all the district. And so the strike spread over the district, those on strike making strenuous efforts to extend it to the working mines.

SUCH was the strike ten days ago. At places the striking miners had been unruly, grown impatient of extending the strike by persuasion and resorted to coercion to bring out working miners on strike. Thus did they go beyond their rights at times and break the laws, and so was the sheriff called upon to extend protection to property and to those miners willing to work. And to this end the sheriff of Luzerne county swore in numerous deputies and armed them with Winchester rifles.

But because some strikers went beyond their rights and broke the laws by infringing upon the rights of others it must not be assumed that all did, it must not be assumed that all had abandoned methods of persuasion for coercion, or that violent and coercive methods met with general approval. In fact the leaders and the greater number of strikers frowned on violence, discouraged acts of coercion. To spread the strike columns of miners marched about the district but they marched, for the greater part, to spread the strike by persuasion not by coercion.

And it was on a peaceful and lawful errand of extending the strike by persuasion, that a column of miners left the blackened village of Harwood, blackened by the hopeless poverty of its inhabitants, blackened by the mountains of coal dust surrounding it, left this blackened village of Harwood on the morning of September 10th, and bent their steps toward the collieries of Lattimer. As they approached the city of Hazleton they were met by the sheriff and his posse and refused permission to proceed through the streets of the town. There was some parleying, some scuffling between the deputies and strikers in which it is not clear but that the deputies were the aggressors and not the strikers. However this may be, the deputies, armed with their rifles which they used as clubs, got the best of the unarmed

strikers, came off unscathed while one striker had his arm broken. Meanwhile the sheriff read the riot act commanding the strikers to disperse, refusing them the right to march through the streets of Hazleton. Making no effort to pursue their march on forbidden highways, the strikers skirted Hazleton and proceeded on their march to Lattimer.

The sheriff, by the aid of the trolley road, forestalled them, and when they arrived at the village he had his deputies drawn up and refused them ingress. He went forward a few paces and ordered the miners to halt. They did so. He ordered them to disperse, waving a proclamation, the riot act, angrily in their faces, but making no effort to read it. What followed happened so quickly, so unexpectedly, that there is much difference of opinion as to just what did happen. The sheriff himself seems to have but a befogged idea of what followed, for he has given out three or four different and contradictory stories of his part in the happenings of these few moments. What seems to have happened is this: The strikers, halted by the sheriff, crowded forward and around him to find out the reason why, to protest against the interference with their marching, an interference that made it impossible for them to reach and so persuade the miners of Lattimer to quit work. Thus confronted the sheriff seemingly lost his head, lost all self-restraint. He fancied his life was endangered; he asserts that he was assaulted, though of this there is grave doubt. He drew his pistol, pointed it at one striker who pushed it from him, attempted to fire it but it did not go off. Then from the deputies came scattering shots, then a volley and more shots. Whether the sheriff gave the order to fire is not clear, he has asserted that he did and asserted that he did not. But whether ordered by the sheriff or not the slaughter was done.

Such is the story of the killing at Lattimer. It was not a riot, for the strikers offered no resistance. They were armless and defenseless, and the firing upon such men was nothing less than slaughter. We know of no parallel in the history of our labor struggles.

SUCH is the story of the Hazleton massacre as briefly as it can be told. And this slaughter, as ruthless as it was, is not condemned by the metropolitan press. On the contrary, the sheriff is lauded for the shooting down of these men, lauded for doing that which makes him, in the eyes of impartial men in the troubled district, guilty of manslaughter. The shooting to death of a score of these miners and the wounding of twice as many more is spoken of as a wholesome lesson to the foreign population of the district. But what is this wholesome lesson, what is it that these miners were doing and for which they were shot, what is it that the shooting warns them not to repeat? Marching on the public highway, marching with lawful purpose, marching with the purpose of meeting working miners and persuading them, if possible, to join the strike.

And to shoot miners guilty of nothing save this, shoot them for doing what they had a right to do, for being where they had a right to be, until the reading of a riot act which was not read, is not a wholesome lesson. It may make them fear the law, it will not make them respect the law; it may cow them into submission to the law, it will not make them law-abiding citizens. If the evil done by this shooting, if the disrespect and hate for the law engendered is to be undone, the law must be invoked for undoing the wrong done under authority of the law, must be invoked for the punishment of sheriff and deputies who, though acting under the cloak of the law, are none the less guilty of manslaughter.

We hear, indeed, in the metropolitan press, perfunctory expressions of sympathy for the men who fell before the hail of bullets, but from those who worship the rights of property and who have enriched themselves by trampling upon the rights of man, by preying upon the fruits of the labor of others, we are

prone to hear expressions of indifference rather than sympathy, we are prone to hear it said of those who were killed, "they were only Huns and Poles and Slavs." But Huns and Poles and Slavs, as they were, they were none the less human beings, and because they had been ground to poverty and their lives darkened by poverty, because many of their better qualities had been stifled and their worse cultivated by oppression and suffering that has been hereditary with them, is no reason to withhold sympathy from them, no reason to treat them as brute animals, but rather it is a great reason to give them sympathy, aid them in uplifting themselves, in stifling the superficial and worse qualities inbred in them by suffering and in bringing to life the better, but dormant qualities that have been hidden, smothered by oppression and poverty.

AMONG the metropolitan papers the New York *Tribune* stands almost alone in throwing a measure of halting blame upon the sheriff of Luzerne county for what was a ruthless shooting, a veritable massacre:

"It looks," says the *Tribune*, "as if the sheriff and the deputies lost their heads and thought their business was to exterminate a band of disorderly persons, instead of restraining them from violence. Moreover, the sheriff's own contradictory accounts of his action tend to discredit his management of the affair. He says he ordered the shooting, and he says he did not order the shooting; he says he was trampled under foot and severely beaten, but those who saw him soon afterward say he showed no signs of ill-treatment. He may have acted with the best of motives, and thought himself in imminent danger from a mob which he knew to be composed of ignorant and violent persons who refused to listen to his commands. We may assume that he has no intention of misrepresenting an unpleasant situation, but the very confusion of his stories makes it difficult to believe that he performed his duties with the good sense and calmness necessary for a public officer charged with his responsibilities."

Coming from the quarter that it does, and to be launched as reading among those who are educated into regarding the rights of property as superior to the rights of man, this is saying a good deal. We trust the *Tribune* will stay upon this tack; but its vacillation is so great that we cannot be sure that it will, cannot be sure that it will not, without new evidence of any kind, repudiate these sentiments, and turn to lauding the sheriff for his action.

THE Hazleton massacre was followed by Governor Hastings calling out the Third Brigade of Pennsylvania's little army which showed its efficiency, by the soldierly promptitude with which it was mobilized in the troubled district. It is called out to keep the peace, to restrain the strikers from violence, which no doubt it can accomplish with no great difficulty despite the worked-up feelings of the strikers, for it must be remembered that it was restraint of the sheriff and his deputies rather than of the strikers which was needed on the afternoon of September 10th to prevent the massacre which led up to the calling out of the troops.

Governor Hastings also promptly issued a proclamation on receipt of the news of the Hazleton massacre and on the representation, by the Sheriff of Luzerne County, that lawlessness had gotten beyond the control of the civil authorities, calling upon all good citizens to preserve the peace and promising "that the lives and property of all citizens of the Commonwealth will be protected; that the laws will be enforced; that the humblest citizen will be protected in his right to earn a livelihood and in the enjoyment of his home and family." This is well, but the Governor should see to it that General Gobin, in command of the troops and representing the direct authority of the state, should live up to this proclamation. Thus we have the promise of Governor Hastings "that the laws will be enforced" but we have General Gobin standing in the way of the enforcement of the laws, declaring that the warrants regularly issued for the arrest of the



sheriff of Luzerne county and his deputies shall not be served, that the men responsible for the Hazleton massacre and charged with manslaughter shall not be arrested. Thus instead of aiding in the enforcement of the laws we have General Gobin overriding them, and overriding them though there has been no declaration of martial law. So, also, we have Governor Hastings' promises that life will be protected, that the humblest citizen will be protected in his right to earn a livelihood, but the only way to protect life is to punish those who wantonly take it, and this punishment of the sheriff and his deputies and therefore this protection of life is interdicted by General Gobin. And when the right of the strikers to march and persuade other miners to strike with them is denied, then the humblest citizen is not protected in his right but denied his right to earn a livelihood.

As it becomes possible to measure up the deficiency in the European wheat crop with some degree of accuracy, it is seen that our supplies will fall short of meeting this deficiency. This means that estimated on a basis of last year's wheat consumption the demand for our wheat will be greater than we can supply. But the rise in the price of wheat will undoubtedly diminish consumption and lead to an actual decrease in the quantity of food consumed, while the consumption of wheat will be further diminished by the increased use of other products, notably corn. And so the supply of wheat will be made to go round. That a higher price for wheat means a lessened consumption of wheat is undoubted though scarcely realized by those consuming less. Thus as wheat and flour go up in price the size of the baker's loaf is prone to come down, and so it is that families buying the same number of loaves, and they are not likely to increase the number, as the loaf is pared down gradually in size, consume less wheat as prices rise and the baker squares himself in great part by putting less flour in the loaf.

The deficiency in the European wheat harvests, as compared to last year's harvests, is estimated at 113,000,000 bushels. And this increased deficiency, so far as it is supplied, must be supplied largely by the United States. Canada can export perhaps 10,000,000 more bushels of wheat this year than last, but none of the other wheat exporting countries can materially increase their exports over last year. Argentine probably will be able to do so after the first of the year, and India likewise next March or April, but this is not of present import. In short, 103,000,000 bushels of the extra deficiency in the European wheat harvests must be supplied by the United States or not at all. And as we ordinarily supply Europe with about 160,000,000 bushels of wheat, this means the deficiency in Europe's wheat harvests that we must supply, if it is to be supplied, is 263,000,000 bushels. And as we cannot supply such a quantity of wheat part of the increased deficiency in Europe's crops will go unfilled. The most liberal estimates put our wheat harvest at 550,000,000 bushels, and as we will need 350,000,000 bushels for our own requirements of food and seed, this leaves us at most with but 200,000,000 bushels that may be exported, which falls short of meeting the deficiency in Europe, for which she must look to us, by 63,000,000 bushels. This amount, or some of it, may be taken from the stores of wheat in Europe and here, the remnant of last year's harvests. But it is far more likely that Europe should consume this much less.

The great exports of our wheat and other food products are having a marked effect upon our merchandise trade balance. The result is that the trade balance is running heavily in our favor and if it was not for the return to us of our securities in part payment for this balance gold would be coming to us largely. As it is, exchange has fallen during the last week down almost to the gold importing point. But whether gold is imported or not is dependent altogether on the disposition of the London bankers.

And so far it has been their disposition to send us our securities and hold on to gold. If this disposition continues there will be no large imports of gold despite the enormous favorable balance built up on merchandise counts.

But the disposition of the London bankers to pay indebtedness to us by the return of our securities is having a serious effect on the New York banks which are called upon to supply the funds for the purchase of these securities and at the same time provide the money due the farming sections of our country for products sold abroad and which are paid for by the return of our securities to New York. This makes the New York banks pay for a good part of our farm products sold abroad without having their resources strengthened in any way. In short the New York banks have to loan, on the securities returned to us, money due our farming classes for products sold abroad, for which products the English banker sends us securities which the New York banks have to absorb while giving to the farmer money for that for which the British banker pays securities.

So the New York banks get securities or rather loans made upon such securities and lose money. For the week ending last Saturday, they increased their loans by \$7,352,000, and lost \$7,347,700 of money. And four more weeks of such drain they cannot stand, for it would wipe out their surplus reserve and reduce them to a position in which they must refuse to make new loans, the National Bank act interdicting the making of loans, or granting of discounts, when the cash reserve is below the legal limit, which, for the New York banks, is 25 per cent. of their deposits. And the moment the banks must cease to make new loans, our stock gamblers and bankers will be unable to absorb securities thrown on our markets by London bankers, and the bottom must drop out of the speculative boom. Moreover, in such collapse, the banks would stand to lose heavily, for the securities which they hold as collateral for loans, must shrink in value until worth less, perhaps, than the amounts loaned upon them; and such securities cannot at such a time be sold at all. To avert this collapse, the New York banks will no doubt make strenuous efforts to bring gold. But in this they will not succeed, unless the London bankers are willing. Those bankers have the power to precipitate a disastrous panic in the United States within three or four weeks, and that panic will be precipitated unless they reverse their policy toward American securities.

As we anticipated, the action of the Indian Council in suspending the issue of council drafts, has put exchange on India to a point at which gold exports to India are possible at any time, put the Indian Government in the market for silver for coinage into rupees in preparation for the expected presentation of gold for exchange into silver rupees and so put up the price of silver. Silver has risen five cents an ounce above the lowest price recorded for it two or three weeks ago.

This rise in silver has further been attributed in part to the report that the directors of the Bank of England had consented to hold one-fifth of the bank's reserve in silver. This would mean a holding of silver by the Bank of England of from \$30,000,000 to \$40,000,000. It was regarded as a part of the contribution the British Government was willing to make toward re-establishing bimetalism. But the report that such a step was contemplated by the Bank of England raised such a storm of protest that the consent of the Bank of England directors to such a plan, if ever made, was promptly withdrawn. So we see how the City of London is opposed to bimetalism and we learn from private advices that the Indian Government has raised objections to the re-opening of the Indian mints to free silver coinage. So there is little for our bimetallic commission, or what is left of it, General Paine having come home, to wait for in London. Mr. McKinley let the opportunity slip for the restoration of bimetalism by international agreement in June last, and when he let

that opportunity go by, he passed an opportunity that he cannot pick up again even if he would.

VACATION is over for Mr. McKinley as for many another man and he returns to Washington to stand another siege of office seekers and take up the many strings that are awaiting his pull. One of the first and most important of the matters pressing for his attention, is the arrangement entered into by Mr. Cleveland for the sale of the Government's \$53,000,000 interest in the Union Pacific Railroad for \$28,000,000, an arrangement that will soon be carried through, to the Government's irretrievable loss, if President McKinley does not say his nay. This sale of a debt worth \$53,000,000 for \$28,000,000 and the pocketing of a loss of \$25,000,000 is not the only bad feature of the arrangement for the sale of the Government's interest in the Union Pacific Railroad. The Union Pacific was built as but half of a transcontinental road, the other half being the Central Pacific. And in the Central Pacific the Government has an interest of \$57,000,000 or more, secured by a second mortgage. Worked in conjunction with the Union Pacific the Central Pacific can earn and has earned interest on this debt to the government, though interest has never been paid, as well as on the first mortgage. By legal chicanery the earnings of the road that should have been paid to the United States were made applicable for the payment of dividends on the stock, which, by the way, is all water. But all this aside, the road can earn in connection with the Union Pacific, and readily earn, enough to make the Government's claim worth par. Severed from the Union Pacific the road could not be sold for the first mortgage. And yet it will be so severed and the interest of the Government jeopardized by the sale of the Government's interest in the Union Pacific Road, which road is in a great measure independent of the Central Pacific, having another outlet to the Pacific coast. With the Union Pacific in hostile hands the claim of the Government in the Central Pacific would be worthless. The sale of the Government's interest of \$53,000,000 in that property for \$28,000,000 is not only throwing away \$25,000,000 in that property but it is throwing away over \$50,000,000 in the Central Pacific. But the President will not say his nay.

A FEW weeks ago there was every appearance of harmony in the Republican party of Pennsylvania. The party appeared to be more firmly under the heel of Mr. Quay than ever, there seemed to be no opposition to his bossism, the Republican convention did his bidding without protest, nominated the men of his choosing. But to a great wing of the party the bossism of Mr. Quay was hateful; it was submitted to as the rule of iron, submitted to because protest, opposition seemed futile. So there was harmony on the surface, no open factional quarrel, for the political faction opposed to Mr. Quay felt it useless to quarrel and bided its time. But the fires of discord were burning fiercely under the surface. A thin crust of harmony covered a volcano; resistance to Mr. Quay's rule was stifled because his rule was one of iron, because it could not be resisted with success. So there was harmony in the late Republican convention.

But the smoldering embers of discontent have burst into flame, Governor Hastings has raised the standard of revolt to Quay bossism. Unfortunately he has detracted from the credit of such move by allying himself with bossism to overthrow bossism. Still it is said that fire must be fought with fire, and so this alliance may bring strength to the fight against Quayism. But it makes the fight a politician's fight, not the people's; a fight for spoils, not for clean government. Thrice has Quay been unhorsed in the past, but he was not unhorsed by fighting for the spoils. At his own game he has never been beaten. It is in a people's, not a politician's, fight that he is at a disadvantage, it is in such fights he has been beaten. He may now be beaten in

a politician's fight, at his own special game, but Governor Hastings is leading the attack on Quay bossism on its strongest, not its weakest side.

But for the action that he has taken, action that has precipitated the fight, Governor Hastings is to be commended. He discovered that his Secretary of State and the Deputy Attorney General, two of his confidential advisers, had signed a bond of indemnity given the State Treasurer to secure that official against any loss from making advances out of the State funds to employees of the legislature in advance of the making of any appropriation for their payment. As confidential advisers of the Governor, as men upon whom the Governor would call for advice as to the propriety of this and that item appropriated by the legislature, this put these two men, General Reeder, Secretary of the Commonwealth, and Mr. Elkin, Deputy Attorney General, in a most compromising position. It was known that the pay rolls of the legislature were shamefully padded, and the signing of this bond made the signing of the bill appropriating money for the payment of political heelers, nominally employees of the legislature, but rendering no service and entitled to no recompense—made the signing of such bill a matter of personal interest to General Reeder and Mr. Elkin, made it impossible for them to give unbiased advice to the Governor as to the signing of such bill, made it to their interest to advise the Governor, as his confidential advisers, to sign a bill covering jobs and virtually appropriating money for the payment of political services rendered Mr. Quay, not for services rendered the State. Learning this the Governor requested the resignations of these two men who now have the effrontery to defend themselves by asserting that they did no more in the signing of such bond than was the custom of Harrisburg. They might as well have said, "we saw no wrong in plucking the State for it has always been plucked." The enforced resignation of these two men, adherents of Mr. Quay, precipitates the fight with Quay rule.

Thus the Governor made a good beginning, but he made a serious mistake when he appointed Mr. Martin as Secretary of State in place of General Reeder, and in so doing allied himself with Philadelphia bossism in his fight to overthrow State bossism. To make an appointment that his friends feel called upon to apologize for was a mistake.

THE Ohio campaign was opened in earnest by the Republicans on Saturday last. Senator Hanna set the ball rolling by an address at Burton, while the opening guns of campaign oratory were fired all over the State. Only one address, that of Mr. Foster, Mr. Harrison's last Secretary of the Treasury, has any general interest. It is of interest for two denials of current statements as to his official action as Secretary of the Treasury which have gained general credence and which he characterizes as false statements. We are sorry to say it, but his denials are quibbles which have all the characteristics of falsity.

In the first place, said Mr. Foster, "I am charged with being the first Secretary that paid out gold for greenbacks and thereby inflicted a great wrong upon the silver cause and upon the people," and he enters a plea of not guilty. His plea is all right, but his statement of the charge against him is all wrong. The charge against him is not that he was the first Secretary of the Treasury to pay out gold on greenbacks, but that he was the first Secretary of the Treasury to pay out gold on the Treasury notes of 1890, that he made those notes, redeemable by law in either gold or silver at the discretion of the Secretary of the Treasury, redeemable in gold or silver at the discretion of the note holder, that he gave over the option reserved by law to the government to the note holder, and thus made these notes that had been regarded as silver certificates virtually gold obligations of the government. He officially announced the surrender of this option in a letter of the middle of October, 1891, addressed to the Sub-Treasurer of the United States at Boston, who had



refused to redeem a Treasury note for \$1000 in gold. And to this charge Mr. Foster cannot plead not guilty.

Mr. Foster's second denial is that the Treasury was not so nearly bankrupt in the winter of 1893 as to cause him to prepare plates for bonds which he proposed to sell to enable the Treasury to meet its current liabilities. What he proposed to do of course no one other than Mr. Foster is competent to say, but that he did order the preparation of plates for three per cent. bonds, for the issue of which there was no authority, but authority for which he expected to be granted by Congress, an amendment with this authority having been added to an appropriation bill, we do know. And why, if the Treasury was not down on its marrow bones, and we all know that it could not meet its current liabilities save by infringing on the gold reserve—why did Mr. Foster make all preparations so that he could make an issue of bonds the moment authority was given? If the Treasury had plenty of money, why all this haste? This authority was not given, for Mr. Carlisle as Senator and prospective Secretary of the Treasury declared he did not want it. Doubtless he thought the authority of existing law and under which he sold bonds later was all sufficient, and so the plates prepared by Secretary Foster were never used.

The fight in Ohio is further complicated by the putting in the field of a Gold Democratic ticket. In Nebraska there is also complication, the middle of the road Populists deciding to put up a ticket of their own which was made inevitable by the methods pursued at the convention that declared for fusion.

#### THE HAZLETON MASSACRE—A LESSON AND A WARNING.

FIVE years before Lexington, British soldiers fired upon a Boston crowd and had better excuse for doing so, slim as it was, than can be found for the American sheriff's deputies who fired upon a crowd of defenceless foreign miners at Lattimer, near Hazleton, on Friday, a week ago. The Boston crowd was turbulent and riotous; at least, no more can be charged against the miners fired upon at Lattimer. At Boston three were killed and several wounded, and the event has gone down to history as the "Boston massacre." At Lattimer more than twenty men were shot to death, and twice as many more seriously wounded. The British troops who had part in the Boston massacre were tried, acquitted and flame thereby given to the revolutionary spirit. Will the deputies who had part in the Hazleton massacre be similarly treated, and thus the spirit of lawlessness, of anarchy, be given food?

It is useless to assert that the Boston populace, more than a century since, was riotous in a just cause, riotous in protest against aggression, riotous in asserting rights that they held to be inalienable, that they later defended successfully with the sword, and that, therefore, it is not just to draw a parallel between the historical Boston massacre and the recent Hazleton slaughter. The miners shot down near Hazleton may have been of foreign birth, alien to our institutions, alien to our language, and with no clear conception of their rights under our laws; but ignorant and degraded by poverty as they may be, though ground down by long generations of oppression until they hope not for liberty as men but for a mere livelihood as slaves, still they are human in their feelings, were resisting aggressions that had become intolerable, were demanding what they thought to be their rights. And, on a whole, they were demanding those rights in a peaceful and lawful manner. That they transgressed the law here and there, and trespassed on the rights of others, is undoubtedly true, but that they strove to keep within the law is unquestioned. Moreover, they were shot down while offering no forcible resistance to the law, even if transgressing it.

The agreement that is looked to as settling the great bituminous coal strike, a strike conducted without violence, without a breach of the peace, has been lost sight of in this tragedy of Hazleton. The strike of the anthracite coal workers around Hazleton was but a speck as compared to the greater bituminous coal strike and attracted but little attention. A predominance of foreign miners, miners foreign in tongue and thought, and a lack of organization, made the Hazleton strike a more difficult one to handle than the bituminous strike and threatened violence from the beginning. And more or fewer unlawful acts, the enforced shutting down of collieries, the invasion of mine properties, the driving of men from work and the drawing of the fires did mark the strike from the beginning.

But when the tragedy occurred there was no evidence that the marchers fired upon were bent on an errand of violence, no evidence that they were bent on resisting the law. On the contrary, there was every evidence that their purpose was to persuade the miners of Lattimer to join them which was their right, not to exercise coercion. In fulfillment of this end they were marching along the public highway leading into Lattimer which was perfectly lawful. Their assembling on that highway did not become unlawful until the sheriff commanded them to disperse. When he so commanded them it was their duty to do so. Ignorant of the English language some crowded forward to gather the meaning of the interruption, others stopped to argue their right to the free use of the highways. There was no violence and the strikers were unarmed, unarmed by the order of their leaders, without pistol, or club, or knife. These seem to be undoubted facts.

Then someone acted hastily, someone blundered, whether the sheriff or one or more of his hundred deputies is not clear. There was a move by the strikers which was taken as an intent to surround the sheriff who had gone forth twenty paces in front of his deputies to meet the strikers and where they were halted. The sheriff drew his pistol and presented it at the breast of a striker who quite naturally thrust it aside. Suddenly the deputies opened fire, whether by order of the sheriff or not has not been brought out, the sheriff contradicting himself on this point, the strikers offered no resistance but ran for cover while the deputies continued to shoot at them as they fled. That which led up to the slaughter passed in a few seconds. The sheriff defends his course and the action of his deputies by asserting that he was in danger of being killed, that he was being terribly mauled by the strikers, that the lives of the deputies were threatened, that one was shot in the arm by a striker ere they opened fire. Such is the excuse offered by the deputies for their deadly work, but it turns out that the wound in the arm of the only deputy hurt was made by a Winchester rifle ball fired, beyond a question, by a fellow deputy; and the sheriff turned up without bruise or scratch, or torn or dirty clothing, such as one could scarce escape if subjected to an assault such as the sheriff declared he had gone through. The evidence points to one of two things. That the deputies lost their heads and shot in unreasoning fear or panic or that they shot in wanton vindictiveness. Which, is not by any means clear.

But it is not our place to sift the evidence. It is for the courts of Luzerne county to sift the evidence, for them to acquit the sheriff and deputies of all responsibility for the slaughter and lay the blame for the killing on the heads of the strikers, or to convict sheriff and deputies of manslaughter and punish them accordingly. Still it is not out of place to cite the correspondent of the New York *Herald*, who telegraphed that the slaughter was "without sufficient provocation to warrant even a clubbing," it is not out of place to affirm the undoubted facts that the strikers were unarmed, that the fighting, if so it can be called, was all on the side of the deputies, that they gave blows, but received none. That most of the strikers were shot

while fleeing, is proven by the fact that the majority of them were shot in the back.

These facts we cite as giving ample basis for the charges of manslaughter made against the sheriff and his deputies. Whether guilty or not is for the courts and juries of Luzerne county to decide. But the charges must be pressed, those charged with the needless taking of life must be put on trial. If, under the cloak of authority, men have been wronged, ruthlessly shot down, the law must be invoked for the protection of their survivors and invoked impartially. If it is not so invoked we cannot ask men to have respect for the law and abide by the law, we must expect them to take the law into their own hands, we must look for lawlessness and anarchy.

If the sheriff of Luzerne county and his deputies are guilty of manslaughter or murder, and if they are guilty of needless killing, they are guilty of manslaughter, if they fired and killed with wanton vindictiveness, they are guilty of murder, they must be punished. If they are worthy of punishment and the law is not invoked for their punishment, then we must look for those who have been injured and wronged to avenge their own injuries, we may expect the Poles and Hungarians and Slavs, men who have little enough regard for the justice of the law anyhow, men who have been taught by generations of oppression to regard might as right, to look upon the weak as without rights before the law, men who knew not liberty in their native lands, who have known it not in America, to do their own avenging, to take blood for blood, to go on the path of murder and anarchy.

Only by a just dispensation of the law, without regard to who is rich or poor, only by dispensing justice and extending protection to the weak and poor alike can we breed a respect for the law. If we do not enforce the law so as to extend protection to all and secure justice for all, the law will not be respected, and we say it with all seriousness, it should not be respected. Unjust law should not be respected anymore to-day than it was in 1776, and it will not be.

So the responsibility before the courts of Luzerne county is grave. It must be met, not shunned, or the law will suffer and it will not shield those who are guilty under the law and whom the law refuses to convict, will not shield them from anarchy, for it is to anarchy that failure to invoke the law for the protection of the weak and poor will run among those of alien land and tongue and thoughts. Legal injustice pursued too far, law made hated by being invoked for the protection of those who prey upon the fruits of the toil of the many, made detested because it cannot be relied upon for the protection of the many against such oppression, will lead men of American birth and men who, though of foreign birth, have drunk in the spirit of their adopted country, to rebellion, it will lead those of alien birth and nature and who have been cowed by oppression to anarchy. Let us have justice in Luzerne county or there will be anarchy. That is the lesson and that is the warning to be gathered from the low rumbling. For the military arm of the State to step in and prevent the serving of duly issued warrants on the sheriff and his deputies, thus interfering with the invocation of law for the dispensation of justice, is an initial blunder.

The steel badge of the deputy sheriff, the blue coat and brass buttons of the policeman, do not confer on the wearers immunity for their acts, do not free them from responsibility, do not permit them to wrong or injure those whom it is their duty to protect—and it is their duty to protect all citizens equally—and go unscathed. Force they are justified in using to keep the peace and protect life and property; they are justified in using just so much force as may be necessary to compel obedience to the law, secure protection to life and property, but no more. The policeman has no warrant for drawing his revolver when the drawing of his club will suffice to keep the peace and protect life and property. He

has no right to take life unless to protect life or unless he is powerless to prevent lawlessness in any other way. The needless taking of life is no less manslaughter because taken by the wearer of the steel badge of the deputy sheriff or the uniform of the policeman, and the deputy sheriff or policeman who takes life needlessly is guilty of manslaughter and punishable therefor even as the private citizen.

The private citizen is entitled to protection against injustice or wrong at the hands of deputy sheriff or policeman to the same degree that he is entitled to protection against injustice at the hands of his fellow citizens. And this protection must be extended. That manslaughter is no less manslaughter because done by an officer of the law, and the needless taking of human life is ever manslaughter, must be recognized, and the mere wearing of a deputy's badge must not be permitted to secure immunity for crime.

Whether or no the firing on the crowd of miners at Lattimer was needless taking of human life, needless to secure obedience to the law, needless to protect the property of the Lattimer collieries, needless to protect the rights of the workers in those collieries, and therefore manslaughter, and whether or no the killing if done needlessly, was done wantonly and vindictively and therefore murder, it is, as we have said, for the courts and juries of Luzerne county to decide. That the slaughter at the hands of the deputy sheriffs should be so passed upon, that such deputies should be put on trial for manslaughter, for their action has the appearance of being criminally precipitate, is demanded by the weal of the whole country—demanded, as a right, by all men who value life and property, who have an interest not only that the law will be so executed as to bring home to deputy sheriffs their responsibility, and thus protect life by showing that human life is as sacred at the hands of deputy sheriffs as it is of private citizens and only to be taken from necessity, that for the needless taking of human life deputy sheriffs will be held to strict responsibility, but who are interested in the just execution of the laws, and the equal protection of all citizens, because injustice must breed anarchy and expose life and property to destruction at the hands of men who, losing faith in the justice of the law, permit themselves to be guided by their own unbridled passions.

The present coal strike in the Hazleton district, though growing directly from a trivial cause, has its foundation in deep and intolerable oppression. It started in a strike of several drivers who were ordered to stable their mules at a stable distant from the place of working—so distant that it made two hours extra daily work for the drivers. In other words, the stable was made so distant from the work as to take the drivers an extra hour in the morning to go after and fetch their mules and an extra hour at night to put up their mules. For this extra work no extra pay was offered and they struck. And then the miners took up the drivers' quarrel.

The strike from this small beginning spread rapidly, this small spark setting fire to the smouldering discontent of the miners. And as the discontent was deep, resting on intolerable oppression, the strike spread with great rapidity.

The Hazleton district is the blackest part of America in more ways than one. The lives, the hopes of the miners are darkened by grinding poverty, even as the landscape is blackened by the coal dumps. The miners are as cheerless as their surroundings, victims of intolerable oppression, slaves to a deeper poverty than can, perhaps, be paralleled elsewhere in America. Victims of the company store system, the scanty wage paid them is pared down. Obligated to rent company houses that are mere hovels, and pay exorbitant rents; obliged to purchase their supplies at the company stores, buy their powder, with which they have to supply themselves, from the companies under pain of dismissal; charged three times as much for a keg of powder as it sells for in the stores of Hazleton, and obliged to deal with the company stores charging 30 per cent. higher prices, on the average, than



are charged in Hazleton, the lot of these miners has been one of inconceivable poverty.

And against such oppressions, oppressions that should have been suppressed by the law, and should now be suppressed by the law, for a recent act of the Legislature makes company stores illegal, and for an advance in wages of about 10 per cent. they have struck. The feeling, the oppression, the despair of these miners cannot be better told than in the words of the employees of Harwood used in a resolution passed after the Lattimer shooting. Miners of Harwood were the marchers fired upon by the deputies, and miners of Harwood were the killed and wounded.

"For years," runs the resolution, "we have been oppressed by C. Pardee & Co., and through the payment of starvation wages. They have deprived us of our liberty by compelling us to deal in their company store. They have forced us to purchase powder at five times its actual value, and have otherwise tyrannized over us in ways too numerous to mention, so that we are no longer free men but slaves.

"We assembled together peacefully and to seek redress for our grievances. Not one man amongst us was armed. Our mission was not to take human life nor destroy property, but to go and meet our fellow employees of the same company at Lattimer who were in sympathy with us. We were opposed on the public highway, and, without provocation, shot down like dogs.

"Resolved, That we deplore such resistance to the right to assemble and march peacefully; that we evoke upon such shooting that it was uncalled for, and if such slaughter is not murder in law, it must be before high Heaven; that we denounce such action by the sheriff and his deputies as cruel and willful and cowardly murder. We place ourselves before the bar of public opinion of this State and county, and ask them if there was justification or warrant for such assassination."

This is a plain, and, in view of the circumstances of its framing, a self-controlled statement. It is for us to make these men good citizens or public enemies. To make them good citizens we have but to do them and ourselves simple justice, have but to put the sheriff and his deputies on fair trial for the Hazleton tragedy, and if the shooting is proven to have been criminally precipitate, to punish them accordingly. By so doing we have to show that the law is an engine of justice, if we fail to do so, we will show the law to be an engine of injustice. And if we show the law as the protector of the strong and the oppressor of the weak, we pave the way to anarchy.

#### MR. REED AS A FATALIST.

PROSPERITY is coming for prosperity is due. We have had a period of hard times and good times must follow, for not only is turn about fair play, but experience teaches that we must take the bitter and the sweet turn and turn about, that prosperity is purchased by business depression and stagnation. And having paid the purchase price, prosperity is coming. So says Mr. Reed, of Maine, in a signed article drawn from him by the enterprise and gold of the *New York World*, sub-sold to sundry other papers as written expressly for each and so spread over the country.

Thus we have the Speaker of the Republican House of Representatives, a man wielding a power in Republican councils second to none save it be the President himself, announcing himself as a devotee of the periodical theory of panics, announcing it as his belief that hard times and good times must come in cycles, that we are fated to pass through periods of depression and industrial stagnation at recurring periods, that no human power can avert periodical panics and that such panics must and will run their course. So when hard times come we should accept them as inevitable, grin and bear them, firm in the faith that they are the precursor of better things.

Such is the doctrine of the fatalist; and if we fall down to the worship of the shrine of fatalism we might as well banish all dreams of progress and advancement, for if we accept our sufferings, the checks to prosperity, the obstacles to our progress as

foreordained and unavoidable and to be humbly, submissively accepted as such, if we accept our sufferings and the obstacles to our progress with meekness and humility, raising no hand for the removal of those obstacles, no hand for the alleviation of our sufferings, such sufferings will ever be with us, such obstacles will never be lifted, and progress, advancement, a betterment of industrial conditions, an uplifting of those who toil to a higher plane will be out of the question. And it is this fatalistic doctrine that Mr. Reed puts forward when he declares that good times must follow hard times and hard good, and that now, having had a period of hard times, we may confidently look forward to a period of good.

Such doctrine sounds not a little strange when falling from the lips, this time the pen, of Mr. Reed, for he has time and again attributed the hard times of the last few years to the repeal of the McKinley tariff, and declared that no industrial revival could come until a tariff of similar stripe to the McKinley tariff was enacted. And so he pressed the enactment of the Dingley tariff, as giving a basis for industrial revival. True, he did not lay as much stress upon protective tariff legislation as many of his Republican associates, but he spared no effort to force the Dingley tariff through the House, to hasten its enactment, and so make a tangible foundation, in the raising of tariff rates and the exclusion from our markets of the products of foreign labor, for the re-opening of our own mills and industrial revival. And now he declares no change of laws is ever needed to bring about good times, that good times must follow bad, that when they are due they will come and that they cannot be brought before.

All that is needed to turn bad times into good, he tells us, is a change of sentiment, a change in men's mental condition, the replacing of despondency with hopefulness. It always seemed to us that something behind this was needed to sustain better times—namely, something tangible upon which to base hopefulness, some change of conditions upon which to rest a change of sentiment. But apparently it does not seem so to Mr. Reed. When the fated time for good times comes so will good times. Nothing can bring good times before this fated time, nothing, no legislation, no human power can stave off hard times, and good times must follow bad and bad good with periodical certainty.

So says Mr. Reed, but as we would guard against the charge of misrepresenting him, we give these, his own words:

"Men and nations and the whole civilized part of the race go from one extreme to another. These alternations seem as necessary as the ebb and flow of the tides of the ocean. When the business world gets inflated at certain periods it will go too far and then there must be a settlement. It must be settled who owns the property, and until that is established nothing else can be done. Those who nominally own property resist this. They hope some miracle will help. Then after settlement, if any laws be deemed necessary, they must be passed or there will be further delay. Some false starts may be taken, but . . . finally, when all things are ready, something always happens which develops the fact that confidence has returned, and, Lo! the whole world has a different aspect. Wheels begin to turn, freight begins to move, commerce resumes her full sway, one by one each employment takes up its march and the nation as a whole goes to work again, urged on by the never-dying yearning for the increase of wealth to be consumed for pleasure or wealth to be hoarded for reproduction—until the time comes all stand fearful on the brink. When it will come no one can tell beforehand, but that it will finally come, every wise man knows."

So we have Mr. Reed telling us that periods of hard times and good must move in cycles, that prosperity must lead to speculation and inflation, that this must be followed by a suspension of the wheels of industry and a settlement, that this was the cause of the last period of hard times, the cause lying not in the Wilson tariff but in the inflation of 1891-92. True, Mr. Reed does not tell us this specifically, but he tell us inflation is ever the forerunner of hard times. As a matter of fact, there was no undue inflation in 1891-92, for there was a reason for the activity of mills and factories and mines in those years. For the increased demand and rising prices and industrial activity that is

called inflation there was a foundation, that foundation being laid in the increased profits of our agricultural classes in those years, and it was because this foundation dropped out, dropped out first because the transient cause, crop failures abroad, that led to the increased profits of our farmers, passed away, and, second, because the closing of the Indian mints to free silver and the repeal of the silver purchasing clause of the Sherman Act in 1893, and the efforts made to contract our currency to the gold basis forced prices for agricultural products so low as to wipe out the margin of profits, because this foundation dropped out, that the demand for manufactured goods of all kinds, and in short the bottom of prosperity, dropped out in 1893.

Mr. Reed further tells us that as good times culminate in inflation, stagnation and hard times must follow, that business cannot revive until there has been a sifting down of the inflation, until there has come a general settlement, that then revival will be in order, that any laws that may be deemed necessary must then be passed or there will be further delay in the coming of industrial revival. But let it be noted that Mr. Reed lays stress on the importance of legislation not because it is needed to bring about a change of industrial conditions, not because hard times were actually due to bad laws, not because the last period of hard times was due to the Wilson tariff law and revival dependent upon a raising of tariff rates so as to exclude importations of the products of foreign labor, but because a change in law is deemed necessary by a great part of the public and must be made so as to bring about that change of mere sentiment, of the condition of men's minds from despondency to hopefulness, upon which change Mr. Reed tells us all business revival must rest. Whatever the people believe in, whether rightly or wrongly, whatever piece of legislation they may desire, however meaningless or superficial, whatever the law to which they may attribute hard times, however inaccurately, must be removed in order to start prosperity, for it is by the removing of such cause, however sentimental, that can be brought about that change in the condition of men's minds, that is the sole basis of industrial revival.

Thus it is that Mr. Reed reasons. He ridicules those who attribute the present measure of revival to the failure of the harvests abroad and to the increased demand for our agricultural products that, in the nature of things, must be transient. He asserts that "when the nation once gets to work it will not stop until it gets out of gear again, and then it will halt, and then it will go on again in a succession of like events forever and forever." So does his fatalism crop out, and then he adds that "Every historic period of revival has been like this. Some event at the ripe moment happens, like the resumption of specie payments . . . the passage of a tariff bill, which rightly or wrongly, the people believed in." And then, to go back, he tells us when periods of hard times have run, to him, their inevitable course, a course that must be run, that cannot be checked, when the time for good times come, "something always happens which develops the fact that confidence has returned, and Lo! the whole world has a different aspect." "Until the time comes all stand fearful on the brink. When it will come no one can tell beforehand, but that it will finally come, every wise man knows."

But industrial revival needs a stronger foundation than a change of sentiment, and every historic period of revival has rested on something more than a change in sentiment. With each revival a change in sentiment, from lack of courage and faith in the future to hopefulness, has indeed come, but that change of sentiment has rested on a substantial foundation, something more than sentiment. It was so in 1879, it is so today so far as a change of sentiment has come.

Men became more hopeful in 1879, extended their enterprise and increased production because their profits were increasing. Their profits did not increase because they became more

hopeful. They became more hopeful because industry and enterprise showed greater profit, industry did not become more profitable because they became more cheerful. And so to attribute the revival of that year to a change of sentiment, to a change from despondency to hopefulness is putting the cart before the horse. Profits increased in 1879, because prices for the products of labor rose, the burden of interest, and rents and taxation diminished and the share of employer and wage earner in the wealth produced, therefore, increased. And prices rose in 1879 for two reasons: First, because of the semi-remonetization of silver and the additions to our currency, by the purchase and coinage of silver as provided for by the Bland act passed in 1878, and, second, because of short harvests abroad, followed by similar harvests in 1880 and 1881, which made an abnormal demand for our products. So it was that prices rose because money was made cheaper by an increased supply and because agricultural products were made dearer by scarcity.

As prices rose, the profits of industry grew, for just as prices rose it took less and less of the product of farm and factory, fewer bushels of wheat, fewer yards of cloth, to meet interest charges and rents and taxes, charges fixed in terms of dollars, and as it took fewer bushels of wheat, fewer yards of cloth to meet those charges, more bushels of wheat remained to the farmer and more yards of cloth to the manufacturer. So it was with all products and so, of course, the profits of industry grew. And as the profits of industry grew enterprise grew, industry was revived, more wealth was produced and more wealth had to be exchanged, there was more for our transportation companies to do and our railroads prospered. And as our railroads prospered, railroad securities became attractive investments to our foreign creditors. They were anxious to invest in our railroads for such investments offered greater inducement and greater safety than any other open to them. So there came large foreign investment in America and as the merchandise balance of trade ran largely in our favor at the same time, imports of gold followed. This, of course, served to increase the supply of money, tended to cheapen money and further raise prices.

But as time went by the demand for money increased, not only because of an increasing population but because of the increased industrial activities of our people. The result was that the rise in prices was checked in 1882-83, and as misfortunes of short crops did not continue to overcome our competitors in Europe, and the abnormal demand of 1880-1881 for our produce did not stay with us, gold ceased to flow to the United States, so the increase in the volume of our currency was narrowed down to the purchase of silver, under the Bland act, and the coinage of the product of our gold mines. As this increase did not keep pace with the increasing demand for money, money grew gradually dearer and prices fell. So the basis for the prosperity of 1879-83, laid in the coinage of silver under the Bland act, was not sufficient to sustain that prosperity. We had a taste of hard times in the years 1884-1887, a slight revival resting on credit expansions in the next two years which nearly ended in utter collapse in 1890, and then a bettering of conditions in 1891-92 resting first on the great crop of 1891 and the European deficiencies, and, second, upon the increased addition to our currency provided for by the purchases of silver under the Sherman Act of 1890.

When those foundations for revival dropped out, as they did in 1893, so also dropped out all that tasted of prosperity.

So we see there was a basis laid for better times in 1878, and laid in a patent remedy for hard times as Mr. Reed would have it. That patent remedy was the Bland act and the increase of currency provided thereunder. Those who sought to put an end to the hard times of 1873-78, by removing the cause of those hard times, namely, falling prices, and sought to put an end to the period of falling prices in the only practicable way, namely, by the cheapening of money through the increase of its volume,



are ridiculed by Mr. Reed. He tells us nothing could have been done to bring better times until the period of hard times had run its course; that better times came when the fated time for their arrival came, and that man could not have hastened this time by any quack legislation such as an increase of our currency. But if to increase the currency and cheapen money is a quack remedy for hard times brought on by currency contraction, dear money and falling prices, then a quack remedy was the prime foundation for the revival of 1879. Greenbackism was not, indeed, crowned with outward success, but the greenback movement did bring a pressure that checked the further contraction of our greenback currency and that forced an addition to our currency through the coinage of silver. So, though outwardly defeated, greenbackism had quasi success indirectly, and it was this quasi success that laid the basis for better times.

And to-day we have a measure of revival resting not on mere sentiment, but on a tangible foundation, which unfortunately, unlike that of 1878, is not of a substantial but of a transient kind. This foundation is an increased demand for our farm products growing out of crop failures abroad, and it is hoped that this increased demand will extend itself to manufactured goods. But as this foundation is of a temporary kind, as it must melt away with the return of normal crop conditions abroad, there is no ground upon which to rest hopes of a revival of a permanent kind. A recurrence of conditions such as marked the revival of 1879 is not likely. Then we had large gold imports resting on conditions that we have seen. Then there was reason to hope that the country and our railroads were entering on a period of prolonged prosperity and foreigners invested in our railroads; to-day there is no such promise to the eyes of European holders of our securities, and they are returning such securities for sale on our markets.

So we see the foundations upon which was builded the prosperity of 1879-1883 and the revival of to-day. We see wherein the foundation laid in 1878 was substantial, wherein the foundation of to-day is flimsy, flimsy in that it does not rest on a cheapening of money, but on a rise of prices due wholly to the temporary scarcity of agricultural products due to crop failures abroad. And so, also, we see the flimsy nature of Mr. Reed's promise of good times built on the fatalism that good times are fated to follow bad times, that prosperity is coming because prosperity is due. Good times are fated to follow bad times only when the cause of bad times, invariably found in falling prices, is removed. That cause may be removed by remedial legislation increasing the volume of currency, it may be removed by great discoveries of precious metals, equivalent, under free coinage, to a discovery of money, as was the case in the sixteenth century when the silver mines of Potosi were discovered and America stripped of the accumulations of centuries, as was the case in the latter part of the eighteenth century when England conquered and robbed India, as was the case half a century ago when the gold fields of California and Australia were discovered. In each case there followed an increase of money, a cheapening of money and rising prices, and rising prices stimulated enterprise and brought prosperity. It is possible, but not likely, that such increase of money will come out of the gold fields of the Klondike, for the void made by closing the mints to silver must be filled by gold before any such increase can be felt.

In a fatherly manner and as erring children, Mr. Reed excuses the people of the West for what he calls their financial vagaries, for their attempts to build prosperity upon wind, and yet he turns round and deliberately asserts that we must build prosperity upon a change of sentiment, upon the replacing of despondency and a want of faith in the future with hopefulness. The building of a basis for that hopefulness is not a factor with him. In this he might take lessons from his erring western children.

Mr. Reed pertinently asks what is prosperity for a nation and as pertinently answers: "It is to have all its people at work."

This leads up to his further question, what makes men work and to this we get this shallow answer: "Their own mental condition." In short, all that is needed to bring better times, is for men to make up their minds to work. At once it is answered that many are the men who have found that something more is needed to get work than to make up their minds to work. Men cannot simply make up their minds and go out to work on the fields, or in the mines, or in the factories for there are not fields, there are not mines, there are not factories open to them. The land, for the most part, has been appropriated and so with the mines. And even if this were not so it takes capital to develop land, capital to develop mines, just as it takes capital to build factories. No man can go to cultivating the soil unless he has capital to sustain life while raising the first crop. And so those who have not capital cannot get work by simply making up their minds to work. They must wait for someone else to make up his mind to go to work, must wait for those commanding capital, must wait for employers of labor to make up their minds to risk capital and go to work. And even these employers of labor must, for the most part, wait for others to make up their minds as to whether it is safe for them to go to work, before they can go to work. These others are the possessors of accumulated capital, the loaners of money, and they must make up their minds that it is safe for employers to go to work before loaning them the money to do so.

Still, in a general sense, it may be said that all that is needed to bring prosperity is for men to make up their minds to go to work, that is, for employers of labor who use their own capital to make up their minds to go to work, for when these men make up their minds to go to work and risk their own capital, the loaners of money will be prone to follow and put their capital at the risk of those men who have such confidence in the future and their ability to make profits as to risk their own capital. So to the question, what makes men work, it can be truly answered "their mental condition."

But, as we have said, this is a superficial answer. When employers are hopeful that their work will yield them a profit they will extend their enterprise and give work to others. The farmer will strive to bring a greater acreage under cultivation if he believes he can dispose of the product of those acres at remunerative prices, and so it is with the manufacturer. He will strive to enlarge his production and extend production if such extension holds out the promise of profit. If there is not this promise of profit on the farm and in the mill industry will stagnate, farmers will cultivate their fields and some manufacturers will run their mills even at a loss, because the loss would be even greater with their farms derelict and their mills idle, but there will be no new enterprise, no hopefulness, no prosperity.

Men will not go to work unless they can dispose of the product of their work at a profit. If they can so dispose of the products of their labor there will be hopefulness and enterprise. If they cannot so dispose of their products there will be lack of confidence and stagnation. In short, the manufacturer will go to work, start his mill, enlarge his plant, if he is secured in the enjoyment of the fruits of his enterprise. But if some one else is to profit from his industry he will have no incentive to go to work, no incentive to give employment and he will not. And it is so with all other employers.

So we come at the root of hard times. It is lack of enterprise, lack of hopefulness on the part of employers, of the organizers of industry, yes, but the captains of industry are only hopeless, only lacking in enterprise when they are deprived of the fruits of their energy. When they are reasonably sure in the enjoyment of the rewards of industry there will be no lack of courage, no lack of enterprise, no complaints of hard times. But men will not organize industry, will not undertake the risk of putting others to work and directing others' energy, if still others are to reap the profits of that organization. And it is

when others reap those profits that we have hard times, that we find employers not of a mind to go to work and set others to work, and hard times cannot be permanently banished until we secure to men the just fruits of their toil, for not until then will farmer or miner or manufacturer be willing to enlarge production, to make work for others.

Some mine operators, some manufacturers, becoming the tools of the cliques who now manage to monopolize our railroads, direct our fiscal system and so monopolize the profits of industry, will extend the scope of their enterprise but independent producers will be stifled. Take from the profits of the independent employer of labor, that is independent of the cliques, take from his profits by making money dear and prices low, thus virtually decreeing that he pay to the cliques from whom he borrows more produce than he covenanted to pay, take from his profits by charging him more for the transportation of his raw materials and of his finished products to market than is charged his clique competitors, take from his profits in this way until they are wiped out, his capital eaten into, and until he is put on the high-road to bankruptcy, and the incentive, the courage of enterprise will be taken from him, industry will stagnate and with bitter irony it can be said that there are hard times because such men are in no mind to go to work. They are in no mind because work means impoverishment, not enrichment, and while such conditions are permitted to last men will not make up their minds to go to work and hard times will not be banished.

Industries controlled by the cliques directing the railroads, by cliques who direct the railroads so as to swell the profits of such industries by cutting the freight tariffs, and undermine the profits of all other industries by charging the full rates, will profit greatly and extend production. They will extend production by taking up the plants of their wrecked competitors, but it will be a growth of trusts and clique fostered monopoly at the expense of legitimate industry, and the growth of such enterprise marks hard times, not good.

Such is the kind of enterprise that grows luxuriantly now. All other enterprise is stifled, because energy directed in independent lines is stripped of its rewards. And such enterprises of an independent kind and denoting healthy growth and competition, a competition that will insure wage earners fair pay for their toil, must continue to be stifled while we cling to the gold standard, or worse yet substitute bank currency for our national currency, thus creating a currency monopoly and while we tolerate the direction of our railroads by the cliques so as to make profitable industry impossible to all those who will not pay tribute for the enrichment of railroad officials ready to give rebates, sacrifice the interests of those they are elected to conserve, for a bribe, and so as to foster the growth of monopoly.

Until we remove these great causes of industrial stagnation we will look in vain for lasting prosperity. Fleeting revival may come, for transient causes, such as short harvests abroad, may counteract the force exerted by the gold standard to depress prices, may make it possible for producers to stand the drain of clique ridden transportation systems and still prosper. But to count upon good times, not because the causes of hard times have been removed but because good times are fated to follow bad, is a fatalism that must be fatal to our advancement, fatal to the betterment of industrial conditions and put us on the high-road to ruin.

#### *BIMETALLISM AS VIEWED BY MR. GAGE AND AS IT IS.*

WE HAVE often been told that good, sound, honest money is that which is worth its face value as bullion. Thus it has been defined by Mr. C. Stuart Patterson, member and prospective chairman of the Currency Commission, appointed under resolution of the business mens' Monetary Convention

that met in Indianapolis on January last, who has declared sound money to be "that whose market value as a commodity is equivalent to its face value as money;" thus was it defined by Mr. Edward Atkinson, of Boston, when he asserted that "it is by the ordeal of fire that money may be tried;" that "the coins which being melted down, retain the entire value for which they were legal tender before they were melted down are good money," that "those which do not retain it are not good money." By defining sound money in this way it was sought to class silver as dishonest money. But now Mr. Gage comes along and asserts that "under free coinage the bullion value and the coinage value are and must be identical," thus vouching for the assertion of bimetalists that as tried by the definition of the gold monometallists, silver, under free coinage, would be sound and honest money.

This test of honest money, namely, that any dollar that contains a weight of bullion equal at its market value to the bullion value of the coin, must be an honest dollar, is, truly, no test at all, for under it the most dishonest of dollars might be tried and pass the test for honesty. The only truly honest money is that which will neither defraud the creditor or rob the debtor, that will neither enable the debtor to pay his creditors in dollars of less value than he covenanted to pay or enable the creditor to exact payment from his debtors in dollars of greater value. The dollar that will not meet this test is not honest, for it cannot do justice between creditors and debtors. And the dollar of paper can stand this test just as well as the dollar of gold or silver.

It is the value of the dollar as measured by its purchasing power, which value is conferred by the supply of and demand for dollars, and not the value as measured by the value of the substance of which it is composed, that makes the scale by which we must measure the honesty of the dollar. And just to the degree that the dollar may be kept unchangeable in purchasing power does it approach the measure required by honesty. Further, to keep the dollar of unchangeable value and hence an honest measure of values, it is necessary that the volume of money be increased just as the demands for money increase, and decreased just as the demands decrease.

Therefore it is evident that if the volume of money is dependent on the supply of the precious metals, and we cut down the source of supply to one metal, gold, by demonetizing the other, silver, thereby so curtailing the supply of money that the demand far outruns it, we may have the most dishonest of dear dollars, even though that dollar is worth no more than the value of the bullion of which it is made. This is what we have in the gold dollar to-day, and this is the contention of bimetalists. Bimetalists further contend that the reopening of the mints to free silver coinage would increase the supply of money, cheapen money, that is raise prices, and so strip gold of some of its dishonest dearness and release debtors from a part of the increased and unjust burden put upon them by the appreciation of the dollar, as shown by the fall in prices, which has required them to give to the creditor classes a greater share of the product of their labor with the result that less has been left to be divided as wages and profits.

That the restoration of bimetalism would give an absolutely honest dollar, that is a dollar of invariable purchasing power, is not contended, for such a dollar is not attainable so long as the supply of money, and hence the value, in great measure, is made dependent on the supply of gold and silver available for coinage, and which supply may far exceed the demands for money or fall far behind it. If the supply exceeds the demands money will be cheapened and the debtor will profit at the expense of the creditor. If the supply falls short of the demand money will grow dear, and the creditor will be enriched, while the debtor is impoverished; the profits of industry will be cut away, incentive to production will be destroyed and enterprise languish.

But that gold and silver together would have formed a more



stable measure of value, and hence a more honest one than gold has made, during the past twenty-five years is susceptible of proof. To show this it is only necessary to point out that the purchasing power of silver has not depreciated by anything like so much as gold has appreciated, and that under a bimetallic standard, resting on both metals, the measure of value would have laid somewhere between the two extremes, and therefore, of necessity, nearer stability. And it stands to reason that a bimetallic standard would give a nearer approach to stability, and hence honesty, in the future than a standard based on gold alone, for the average fluctuations of two commodities is likely to be less extreme than the fluctuations of one. But, as we have said, a measure of value of strict invariableness in purchasing power, and hence of honesty, is not to be thus obtained. Such invariableness cannot be secured until the volume of money is regulated by its purchasing power, until it is increased just as an increase is shown to be needed by a tendency of prices to fall and provision is made for decreasing the volume of currency if a spirit of inflation is evinced by a tendency of prices to rise abnormally. And no assurance can be given of this while we base the supply of money upon the fluctuations in the supply of two commodities. Still, the making of the supply of money dependent on the supply of two metals, gold and silver, instead of one, would be an assurance of greater stability, of a nearer approach to honesty, and this is what is contended by bimetallists.

It is further contended by bimetallists that the opening of the mints to free silver coinage would fix the mint price for silver as the price is now fixed for gold, and that this would be followed by such equalization of the demand for gold and silver that the commercial parity of gold and silver would be restored to the mint parity. In short, it is contended that under bimetalism the demand for money would adjust itself so as to restore and maintain this parity; that the demand for silver would be so increased and the demand for gold for coinage so diminished that the commercial parity between gold and silver would at once be restored at the mint ratio, the purchasing power of silver bullion increasing with the increased demand and the purchasing power of gold diminishing until parity was reached. And after parity was once reached it would be maintained, for it is evident that self-interest must impel debtors to make use of the money of full debt-paying power that they can most readily get, and so the moment one metal became relatively abundant for coinage, the demand for it would become relatively greater, while the demand for the other metal would become proportionately less. The inevitable result would be to check any tendency of the most abundant metal to fall below par and to keep the relatively scarcer metal from rising above par. These are the results claimed by bimetalists.

But now Mr. Gage, who has been drawn into a newspaper interview, comes forward and tells us that there is no basis for the contentions of bimetalists; that bimetalism, meaning the free coinage of both gold and silver into full legal tender money, is really a very different thing from what bimetalists contend. "In the first place" he asserts "there is, properly speaking, no mint price for gold or silver." But when we turn to Dr. Linderman's work on "Money and Legal Tender in the United States" published in 1877, when he was Director of the Mint, and which is first authority on such matters, we find in the first chapter of his work devoted to a "brief explanation of terms commonly used in treating of bullion, mints, coinage and money," this definition of the:

"Mint price of gold or silver—The rate per standard ounce at which the mint converts bullion into unlimited legal tender coins."

So it is quite clear that under free coinage at which a coinage rate is fixed for the conversion of bullion into coin, there is a mint price as defined by the first of gold authorities on such matters. And that Mr. Gage is unaware of the accepted

meaning of the term "mint price," is not the fault of bimetalists.

It is very true, as Mr. Gage asserts, that "all the mint does with the man who brings to the mint a certain number of grains of uncoined gold, is to give him in return the same number of grains in coined gold, less enough to pay for the metal alloy used by the mint in coining." But this is equivalent to fixing a minimum price for gold for no man, when he can take standard gold to the mint, that is, gold nine parts pure gold and one part alloy, and have it coined and returned to him as gold coin at the rate of \$18.60 for every ounce deposited, will sell an ounce of standard gold for less than this, the mint price, nor will any man sell pure gold at a less rate than \$20.67 an ounce, this being the amount of gold coin that a pure ounce of gold will make, and what is true of gold would be, under free coinage, true of silver. The price of pure silver at our present mint ratio would be fixed at \$1.2929 per ounce and the mint price per standard ounce at \$1.16 $\frac{1}{4}$ .

But Mr. Gage asserts that this coinage of silver would not make a demand for silver, that the government would not buy silver, but would merely give silver dollars in return for silver bullion. The latter part of this is true; the government would not purchase the silver, and would not in itself make a demand for silver, but with the mints open to free silver coinage, every man with debts to pay would make a demand for silver and every debtor would be a buyer of silver bullion or dollars as long as any could be had cheaper than gold, just as every debtor would be a purchaser of silver dollars to-day and no debtors, save those with gold contracts to meet, purchasers of gold dollars, if silver dollars could be had cheaper than gold.

Mr. Gage asserts that debtors would not in general, under free coinage, use silver in payment of their debts, that most debtors would prefer to "keep their honor and integrity," that "many will do so at any sacrifice," and that only "a few will forfeit both for the most paltry consideration." But debtors do not consider to-day that they are forfeiting honor and integrity when they offer silver dollars or silver certificates in payment of their debts, and creditors do not hold them in any the less respect because they do so. And it would be the same under free silver coinage.

It is said that the case would be different, that silver dollars are now worth just as much as gold dollars, that they would not be under free coinage. But what makes silver dollars and their representatives—silver certificates—worth just as much as gold dollars to-day? Nothing at all, save the fact that debtors use them in payment of their debts when they are more plentiful, whenever the banks pay them out in preference to gold or greenbacks. If debtors did not so use them silver dollars could not now be kept at par with gold. And as they are kept at par to-day—namely, by the commercial demand for them, so the new dollars coined under free silver coinage would be kept at par.

It is indeed asserted that so many would be coined under free coinage that they would more than fill the demands for money, that there would be no demand for gold. If so, gold would go to a premium, go out of use as money, be exported to where it could be used as money. But if it did, the volume of money in gold standard countries would be appreciably expanded and gold cheapened, while the demand of the American people for money falling solely on silver would cause that metal to rise. And as our domestic exchanges equal the exchanges, domestic and foreign, of all Continental Europe, excepting Russia, there is no measure of doubt that silver would rise until it reached a parity with gold that would fall. Indeed, there is no reason to suppose that the free coinage of silver would disturb the present parity between gold and our silver dollars. It would bring the commercial parity of gold and silver together leaving the parity between the gold and silver we now have in use as money undisturbed. This would be effected by a rise in the purchasing

power of silver bullion and a coincident decline in the purchasing power of gold and silver dollars, which decline would be measured by a general rise of prices.

"Under free coinage," Mr. Gage concludes, "the value of the silver dollar would be relegated to its exchangeable power for things in the commercial exchanges of the world. When that time came the market value of the coined dollar would be the same as the market value of the bullion in it, and unless a new demand should arise, not now foreseen . . . the value of silver either as a metal or as money would not be essentially different from the present value of silver bullion."

That the value of the coined dollar would be the same as the market value of the silver in it is unquestioned, but that a new and a great demand for silver would arise under free coinage is an equal certainty. To say that such demand cannot be foreseen is absurd. It can be foreseen, and so also can be foreseen a decreased demand for gold, a fall in the value of that metal and a rise in gold prices. That such would be the effects of free silver coinage cannot be fairly questioned, the only question open to dispute being as to the extent of the rise in silver and fall in gold that would follow the reopening of our mints to free silver coinage. That this mutual approach of gold and silver would go so far as to secure the restoration and maintenance of the parity between gold and silver at our present mint ratio we do not doubt. If it did not the injurious effects upon the trade of Great Britain would be such as would promptly bring Britain to aid us in restoring bimetalism as a measure of self-preservation.

A premium on gold in America would throw up a virtual tariff barrier against imports into the United States from Great Britain and other gold standard countries, for it would enhance the price of everything bought from such countries, and it would throw down the tariff wall now existing in the shape of a premium on gold between the United States and silver standard countries, a tariff barrier, that, though diminished by the fall in gold and rise in silver sure to follow the opening of our mints, would still be extant against imports from gold standard countries. The result would be that we would drive the British manufacturer out of the Oriental markets and the markets of South America, and capture those markets for ourselves. Such loss of trade would bring England very rapidly to the conclusion that she had more than an indirect interest in bimetalism. It is urged that we would lose as well as Great Britain from such premium on gold, that it would increase the burden of our foreign indebtedness payable in gold. But this is not so, for we pay that indebtedness in the products of our soil, the burden of that indebtedness is measured by the quantity of such produce we must raise and export, and the higher gold prices obtainable in England the smaller must be the quantity, and the opening of our mints to free coinage would inevitably cheapen gold abroad, and raise gold prices even though gold went to a premium in the United States.

So we have nothing to fear even should our own independent effort to re-establish bimetalism miscarry. It is Britain that has much to fear from a miscarriage of such effort and for her own protection she would have to see to it that that effort once inaugurated by the United States was carried successfully through.

It is our misfortune that we have not the courage to play the winning cards that we hold. As for Mr. Gage it is quite evident that he does not want to play bimetallic cards of any kind, that he does not want international bimetalism, viewing it as the conception of dreamers. And with the attitude taken by the Administration, of which he is a part, toward bimetalism, and a threatened revulsion in the attitude of the British Government, which we have reason to believe would not dare at this time to go to the extent of reopening the Indian mints, which it was ready to do a few months since, Mr. Gage need have no fear of being brought up with bimetallic proposals, at least until the election of the next Congress. In the meantime, he may continue to view bimetalism through false lights and fail to see it as it is.

## BOOK REVIEWS.

IMPRESSIONS OF TURKEY. By W. M. Ramsay. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$1.75.

Few books on any subject are so thoroughly interesting from first to last as this. The author is a D. C. L. and LL. D., an Oxford professor of classical archaeology, now in Aberdeen University, and the greatest living authority on the geography of Asia Minor, whose books on the journeyings of St. Paul and the spread of the early Church are also the standard authorities. This prepares the reader to expect a ponderous work, very learned and very dry, but it is just the opposite. Dr. Ramsay is a stalwart Scot, characteristically venturesome, solid, and canny, who describes his twelve years' wanderings through the little known interior of Turkey, as an archaeologist, in a racy and humorous style which never permits us to miss the exceedingly practical insight he gives us into the life of the people, the nature of the country, the workings of a bad government, and the conditions underlying the little understood Eastern Question. This is an informal book, in which the author's professional experiences are only used to illustrate the all-round impressions he has formed, so that we have within its covers the observations of a shrewd explorer, the conclusions of a scholarly expert, and the ever-pleasing stories of adventures among a primitive and strange group of races. Dr. Ramsay does not attempt to conceal his strong bias in matters of European politics. He lays about him, right and left, with his cudgels of criticism, sarcasm, and scolding indignation with a delightful impartiality which Lord Salisbury and his satellites may fail to enjoy. This rollicking individuality gives life to every sentence in the book and its candor gives the reader fair warning to allow for possible fallibility. In the nature of the case any criticism would be absurdly presumptuous, we therefore take our proper place at the feet of a richly qualified instructor, and impart, unsullied by comment, a little out of his abundance.

Two reasons are given by the author for the writing of this book. This is the American edition, in the preface to which he says, "my hope is that it may do something to produce in America an adequate conception of the great educational organization which the American missionaries have built up in Turkey with admirable foresight and skill." He confesses to having been prejudiced at first against their work, but he "was driven by the force of facts and experience to the opinion that the mission has been the strongest, as well as the most beneficent, influence in causing the movement towards civilization, which has been perceptible in varying degrees among all the peoples of Turkey, but which has been zealously opposed and almost arrested by the present Sultan with the support of the six European Powers."

In his chapter on the Armenians, Dr. Ramsay refers to certain printed statements of his own, unfavorable to the Armenians, which a recent writer and friend of his had quoted. Then he says: "The reason why I have made an effort to write this book at this time is the desire to try, however feebly, to counteract the effect of the telling indictment which (his friend's book) has brought against the whole Armenian people, as a set of conspirators." In his general preface he says that love for the Asiatic Turks and hope in their future has led him to publish these frank impressions after seventeen years' studies and twelve years' sojourning among them, of which his wife shared five. Since 1882 he has not needed a Greek interpreter, having picked up a sufficient familiarity with the language.

The Turkish village is sleepier than Sleepy Hollow used to be. The strange visitor is always regarded as an agent of the government, bent on extorting more taxes, a man to be got rid of as quickly and cheaply as possible. The archaeologist who is after stones with old inscriptions on them is a sort of magician who knows there is gold buried beneath them. Very amusing are their tricks to mislead or hustle away the stranger, so that they may hunt beneath the stones he has labored over and secure the treasure for themselves. A little money works wonders, though there is always danger of extortion and occasionally of violence. The male villagers are mostly old; the young men have been drafted into the army. The public coffee room, ramshackle and verminous, is hospitable in its way, and affords the only chance of obtaining information. The rich man, if there is one, freely entertains the stranger and the crowd in his own coffee room. A little dexterity in managing the talk impresses them with the sense of the stranger's importance. Once the author was grandly received as the Queen of England's son, accom-



panied by the queen of his harem (Mrs. Ramsay), thanks to the loyal efforts of his Turkish servant. Many amusing things are told of the journey the author made in 1883 with Prof. Sterrett, of Amherst College. The picture of the rustic Turk at home is spread over most of these pages. Condensing the various details we get this: He is simple-minded, intellectually a child, slow in everything. "The even placidity of Turkish village life is hardly credible. Round a Christian or Circassian village there is at least a variety of crops; vegetables of several kinds are grown, butter is made, and a certain amount of art and work gives variety to life. But the one duty of the Turkish man originally was to be a soldier," and when not forced into the army, or tempted by wages to enter the railway service, "he lounges through life doing absolutely nothing, fed by the women, occasionally crocheting a stocking, or minding a child of two or three years old." Field work is done by the women. Bread and sour milk are the chief food. Time has no value to any of them. All village Turks talk well for ignorant people, and if you talk sympathetically with them about the rapacity of the ruling classes, they will discuss the delicate topics of religion and sex without trace of bigotry. Since the stirring up of the recent Mohammedan revival this has changed, at least where numbers are gathered. They are exceedingly hospitable, "often the vulgar and objectionable lout develops easily into a trustworthy and good man. Wherever any work has to be done for which absolute honesty is required, there it is always a Turk that is employed. If you send any ordinary poor Turk, picked up by accident, to carry \$500 to some place, it is wonderful in how many cases it would be delivered safely and intact by a man to whom \$25 represents a fortune; and not merely would he carry it safe, but he would as a rule defend it if attacked, and fight till he dropped." Dr. Ramsay elsewhere tells of one man he had employed as servant. This Akhmet had served seven years as a soldier, he was sergeant and was taken prisoner at Plevna, yet all the pay he got for those seven years soldiering was *one dollar*. "He was an excellent specimen of a village Turk; absolutely trustworthy, strong, slow, steady, modest, quiet, perfectly well behaved, and perfectly useless in all the departments of work where any skill or readiness was required." After this testimony to character, which compares favorably with the average best that can be said of the peasant of civilization, who is rarely vegetarian and teetotal, it seems a small drawback that the Turk is unhandy with tools. "If a Turkish village requires a fountain with its aqueduct, a Greek workman is employed to make it."

Now let us have the portrait of the Greek. Dr. Ramsay is enthusiastic over "the steady, inexorable, irresistible spread of European, and mainly of Greek, influence . . . by far the most striking fact in modern Turkey. . . . The Asiatic Greeks have the future in their hands, and no man or policy will be successful which does not recognize that fact and build upon it as a foundation." Writing, apparently, in view of the recent war he says "the Greeks are a far greater danger to the Turks than the Armenians ever were." Parenthetically we may note here that Dr. Ramsay admits "it is a reasonable view to hold that the Greeks should not have gone into Crete at all, and I am not prepared to hold that it was wise, nor would I have said one word to encourage them, knowing their weakness and want of preparation, and M. Delyanni's ridiculous incompetence." Their king, Otho, he surmises, was chosen by the Powers as "a practical joke, on the principle that anybody was good enough for so small a kingdom as Greece; while the present king, though well-intentioned, has not the firmness and vigor that would be needed to make a mark in any department of life." Dr. Ramsay does not deny that rapacity and rascality flourish among the Greeks, for whom as a whole he has no love, though he received much disinterested kindness from the educated class. Orientalism is decaying, and he holds that a fusion of Greek with Turk is needed to make a strong and self-sufficing nation. "Each seems to possess some good qualities which are lacking in the other. . . . The Greek can be brave, but you can never trust him to die at his post or to fight to the bitter end in the face of discouragement or despair. The Turk will maintain his trust till he is cut in pieces, and will stand at his post till he falls; but he is devoid of resource and ingenuity, and is hardly ever able to command or organize the strength of a number of other men, which the Greek can do." Probably this was written before the war contributed its cynical commentary on his estimate.

A look at the author's portrayal of Armenian character must close this first notice of a book too full of matter for a single article to cover. Dr. Ramsey found from converse with them

that "hundreds of men of the most diverse situations, sympathies and religions . . . agree that the Armenians tend toward one type, submissive to the verge of servility, accepting without attempting to resist ill-treatment and insult at which a worm would rebel." He quotes approvingly a traveller's description of the Armenians as "more simple and abject than the ambidexterous and vainglorious Greek, possessing sounder sense if not so much vivacity, less imbued with national pride and ambition, the supple and self-interested Armenian humbles his brow in the dust of the lordly, pride-sowing and poverty-reaping Moslem, and, unfearful, becomes the master of his master's all." Dr. Ramsey had ample experience of the bad side of the Armenian, and while hesitating to endorse those who hold he has no virtues at all, admits "they are not popular, and they do not deserve to be, so far as my experience goes." What Dr. Ramsey does deny, and stoutly, is the charge made by fellow travellers that the Armenian is a secret society conspirator against the Sultan. This leads to a review of the inter-relations of Mohammedanism and Christianity, as they are understood by Dr. Ramsey, and his weighty opinions upon the present situation of affairs, with German influence predominant in Constantinople.

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POEMS OF THE OLD DAYS AND THE NEW. By Jean Ingelow. Boston: Roberts Brothers. \$1.25.

OFF THE SKELLIGS. A novel. Same author and publishers. \$1.

The name of the good woman who so recently passed away has been a familiar one to many who would have been sore put to it to name even a couple of her pieces. Yet there have been twenty-three English editions of her poems, and over 200,000 volumes of her works have been sold in this country. Her poems first appeared in 1863. She won the prize for the best poem at the Robert Burns centenary in 1859. When the great multitude of those who love poetry for its own sake discovered Jean Ingelow, they knew where to go for simple sweetness and pathos that went to the heart, whether it satisfied the critics or not. Herself quite innocent of ambition, she allowed her natural love of gentle and noble sentiment to sway her pen. She was not less astonished than delighted when her poems won their way among the people. Her novels have the same general characteristics as the verse. A tone of healthy piety pervades them, without a trace of mawkishness, and if her knowledge of human nature was neither deep nor curious, it sufficed to enable her to depict the manners and characters of worthy folks with a quiet force which suited their taste. Her true gift was in song. The more ambitious dramatic poems, some in blank verse, made good reading where the merits of the story rank higher than those of the telling. So large and steady was the demand on her pen, she confessed to a very slight acquaintance with the literature of the day. So afraid was she of seeming to plagiarize, she refused to read the poems of contemporary writers. She is at her best when she strikes the minor chord, as in this powerful song, of which we omit one stanza. It will be familiar to musical readers by the popular and striking melody written for it by a famous composer.

When sparrows build and the leaves break forth,  
My old sorrow wakes and cries,  
For I know there is dawn in the far, far north,  
And a scarlet sun doth rise;  
Like a scarlet fleece the snowfield spreads,  
And the icy founts run free,  
And the bergs begin to bow their heads  
And plunge, and sail in the sea.

O my lost love, and my own, own love,  
And my love that loved me so!  
Is there never a chink in the world above  
Where they listen for words from below?  
Nay, I spoke once, and I grieved thee sore—  
I remember all that I said;  
And now thou wilt hear me no more, no more,  
Till the sea gives up her dead.

We shall walk no more through the sodden plain  
With the faded bents o'erspread,  
We shall stand no more by the seething main  
While the dark wrack drives o'erhead;  
We shall part no more in the wind and the rain,  
Where thy last farewell was said;  
But perhaps I shall meet thee and know thee again,  
When the sea gives up her dead.

Jean Ingelow never married. The large income her pen earned was mostly devoted to unshowy charity. If the poignant song just quoted suggests that an early lover may have sailed with an Arctic expedition and never returned, the fact cannot be

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### Announcement

#### SOME OLD COLONIAL MANSIONS, AND THOSE WHO LIVED IN THEM.

Edited by THOMAS ALLEN GLENN, Member of the Historical and Genealogical Societies of Pennsylvania; Author of "Merion in the Welsh Tract," "American Genealogies," etc. Fully illustrated from Photographs taken expressly for the book. With an index. Small 4to, handsomely printed on heavy paper; cloth. *In the press; to be published shortly.*

**MANSIONS AND FAMILIES CONSIDERED.**—The mansions and families selected for this volume are: WESTOVER, and the Byrds, Virginia; MORVEN, and the Stocktons, New Jersey; CEDAR GROVE, the Coates and Morris families, Philadelphia; BOHEMIA MANOR, and the Herrmans, Maryland; RENSSELAERSWYCK, and the Van Rensselaers, New York; ROSEWELL, and the Pages, Virginia; SHIRLEY, and the Carters, Virginia; CLEARMONT, and the Livingstons, New York; DOROUGHGAN MANOR, and the Carrolls, Maryland; GRAEME PARK, Pennsylvania; BRANDON, and the Harrisons, Virginia; TUCK-AHOE, and the Randolphs, Virginia; WAYNESBOROUGH, and the Waynes, Pennsylvania; WILLIAM BRADFORD and family, of New England.

**ILLUSTRATION.**—The book will contain about two hundred handsome illustrations in half-tone, many of them being full page, from photographs made under careful personal direction. They include interior and exterior views of the mansions mentioned, and a number of others, many reproductions of old and valuable family portraits, many never before copied, old family plate, coats of arms, etc., etc. The entire collection has been obtained at considerable labor and expense and could not now be duplicated. IN ADDITION to the above, there are also fourteen photogravures of similar subjects.

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known. She was reticent on personal matters. It may be that she had in mind another youthful experience when she wrote this piece, which we take from the book under notice, and, on the other hand, it may not. Its sentiment will find plenty to echo it.

#### I.

When I had guineas many a one  
Nought else I lacked beneath the sun,  
I had two eyes the bluest seen,  
A perfect shape, a gracious mien,  
I had a voice might charm the bale  
From a two days widowed nightingale,  
And if you ask how this I know—  
I had a love who told me so.

The lover pleads, the maid harkeneth,  
Her foot turns his day darkeneth,  
Love unkind, O can it be  
'Twas your false foot did turn from me.

#### II.

The year is gone, the red gold spent,  
Favor and beauty with them went,  
Eyes take the veil, their shining done,  
Not fair to him is fair to none  
Sweet as a bee's bag 'twas to taste  
His praise. O honey run to waste,  
He loved not! Spoiled is all my way  
In the spoiling of that yesterday.

The shadows wax, the low light alters,  
Gold west fades, and false heart falters.  
The pity of it! Love's a rover,  
The last word said, and all is over.

Jean Ingelow's first book did not come out until her forty-third year. She died last July, aged seventy-seven. These volumes are sure of a welcome from all who venerate the gentle memory of a good woman whose personal and literary influence have been wholly elevating.

#### PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

BEYOND THE PALE. A novel. By B. M. Croker. pp. 354. New York: R. F. Fenno & Co. \$1.25.

SOUTH AMERICAN TRADE OF BALTIMORE. By Frank R. Rutter, Ph.D. pp. 87. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. 50 cents.

THE WISDOM OF FOOLS. By Margaret Deland. pp. 248. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$1.25.

PRINCIPLES OF INSURANCE LEGISLATION. By Miles Menander Dawson. pp. 139. New York: The Humboldt Library.

UPLAND PASTURES. By Adeline Knapp. pp. 62; illuminated. East Aurora, New York: Roycroft Printing Shop.

ON GOING TO CHURCH. By George Bernard Shaw. pp. 40. East Aurora, New York: Roycroft Printing Shop.

THE EXPRESS MESSENGER AND OTHER TALES OF THE RAIL. By Cy Warman. pp. 238. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.25.

SOME COMMON BIRDS IN THEIR RELATION TO AGRICULTURE. By F. E. L. Beal, Asst. Ornithologist. pp. 40. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office.

THE BLUE JAY AND ITS FOOD. By F. E. L. Beal, Asst. Ornithologist. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office.

#### MINOR MENTION.

*The Old South Leaflets*, (Boston), of which seventy-seven have now been issued, are invaluable to the student and uniquely interesting to the casual reader who wisely dips into the quaint records of the early colonies. In their modest way the directors of "the Old South Work" are contributing richly to the history of that period, and in a form which puts it within everyone's reach. These excellently printed pamphlets ought to be in every American's home library, they are issued at five cents, barely covering cost. The current number has twenty-four pages, containing Cotton Mather's stiffly written "Lives of William Bradford, Governour of Plymouth Colony, and John Winthrop, Governour of the Massachusetts Colony." Each was the Moses, and the historian, of his colony, with other quaintly fanciful titles given by the writer. The spelling is modernized but italics are retained, to the gain of picturesqueness. But why rob this goodly pamphlet of its weight by calling it a mere leaflet?—*The Biblot* for September reproduces a couple of the late Walter Pater's studies of Sandro Botticelli and Luca Della Robbia from his work "The Renaissance, Studies in Art and Poetry." The author's singularly fascinating, yet puzzling style, shows here as always in the perfect realization one gets of times and characters far remote from

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our own. These elegant little monthlies give selections from prose  
and poetry of the choicest order, and not readily accessible to the  
general reader, often from rare editions. Published by Thomas  
B. Mosher, Portland, Maine.—*The Writer* is a monthly of a less  
esthetic type, with the practical purpose of helping beginners and  
amateurs into the full glories and rewards of authorship. That  
the field is ripe for the harvest is evident from the fact that *The  
Writer* is in its tenth year. Besides much useful information  
touching the preparation and sale of manuscripts it has contribu-  
tions from writers of standing, the chief this month being the  
the story of his story about "The Man Without a Country," by  
Edward Everett Hale. *The Writer* Publishing Co., Boston.—  
*Guntton's Magazine* for September confines itself to practical  
economics and political science from its editor's standpoint. This  
is indicated in the announcement of the Professor's "propaganda  
of reason, harmony and optimism in its practical application of  
economic principles to patriotic public policy." We note this  
sentence in its opening article on the oil regions, "whatever may  
be said against the Standard Oil Co., it cannot be charged with  
crowding out the small producers; on the contrary, it is the only  
power that perpetuates their existence." The magazine contains  
the prospectus of a proposed Guntton Institute, by which sub-  
scribers for the Professor's books and magazine become entitled  
to a course of instruction in his doctrines, on the lines apparently  
of the Cosmopolitan Correspondence University. The Guntton  
Publishing Co., New York.—*The Cosmopolitan* for September is  
specially noteworthy for the portrait article on Dr. Andrews,  
of Brown University, which announces the formation of the new  
correspondence university now being established by Mr. J. Brisben  
Walker, of the *Cosmopolitan*, with Dr. Andrews as its director.  
It is to be costless to students, who must sign forms, pledging  
themselves to certain conditions, and to devote a stated number  
of hours per week to their work. Julian Hawthorne's third  
article on the Real India, draws a pitiful picture of the people's  
sufferings.

### ABOUT BOOKS AND WRITERS.

Now, that Hall Caine's feverishly advertised novel "The  
Christian," is floated on its merits, two things are plainly seen,  
one is that the critics are going to punish Mr. Caine for posing  
as a Manx Shakespeare before he has earned the right, and the  
other is that a great injury has been done by Mr. Caine to the  
interests of legitimate authorship. He is being laughed at for  
his clumsy methods of puffing himself and book for two years,  
and his complacent allusions to the time and money he has spent  
in getting up his knowledge of London by hired helpers are  
gleefully satirized. Let his book be as great as he thinks it is,  
surely there is less need for this ignominious puffery by himself  
of his own handiwork. Genius can always speak for itself. He  
is charged with having compiled a work of second-hand in-  
formation, under the impression that he was composing a novel.  
First-hand knowledge of London life is essential to the life of  
any London story, as Dickens and Thackeray prove.

\*\*\*

Of "The Christian" the leading English and American critics  
speak in qualified terms. They describe it as a strong melo-  
drama, theatrical and unreal in characterization, with sermon-  
features added; "it is never inevitably true as a narrative." The  
rugged interest of the story compels the reader to follow it  
to the end, and then its artificiality and high coloring are per-  
ceived, with a sense of half-shame at having been fascinated by  
such art. From the mass of criticism may be predicted great  
popularity for the novel among the largest class of fiction readers,  
those who most relish a tale of weakness and wickedness when  
mixed up with the popular features of ostentatious religion. This  
hits the mark, which it would have missed had the story given  
more prominence to the spiritual or intellectual conflict waged by  
the principals. It is being adapted as a stage-play by the author  
and his family. This will bring more dollars and gallery glory.  
Doubtless literature will survive the indignity.

\*\*\*

The publishers are issuing their fall announcements. An  
unusual number of specially interesting books invite attention.

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY's new books include one which  
has long been desired by students. This is a "Handbook of  
European History," gotten up in parallel columns, showing at a  
glance what events of importance were taking place in different  
countries about the same time. "Sketches from Old Virginia,"

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D. APPLETON & Co.'s preliminary list mentions "The Suppressed Letters of Napoleon," edited by M. Leon Lecestre, curator of the French Archives, translated by Lady Mary Loyd. "French Literature," by Edward Dowden, D. Litt., LL.D., D.C.L., Professor of English Literature in the University of Dublin. A new volume in the Literatures of the World Series, edited by Edmund Gosse. "Natural History," by R. Lydekker, B.A., R. Bowdler Sharpe, LL.D., W. F. Kirby, F.L.S., B. B. Woodward, F.G.S., H. M. Bernard, M.A., and others. The first volume in "The Concise Knowledge Library." Nearly 800 pages and 500 illustrations.

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS have just ready "Walter Scott," by George Saintsbury, the new volume in the Famous Scots Series; and "Thomas and Matthew Arnold and their Influence on English Education," by Sir Joshua Fitch, the new volume in the Great Educators Series. "Historical Memorials of Ely Cathedral," by Charles William Stubbs, Dean of Ely, consists of his two lectures delivered in Cambridge in the summer of 1896, entitled separately "The Shrine of St. Awdrey" and "Alan de Walsingham."

DODD, MEAD & Co. announce in the line of fiction R. D. Blackmore's "Daniel," Henry Seton Merriman's "In Kedar's Tents," W. Clark Russell's "The Two Captains," Amelia E. Barr's "The King Highway," Max Pemberton's "The Queen of the Jesters," and Joseph Hocking's "The Birthright." In theological literature, they will publish "The Potter's Wheel," by Ian Maclaren, Dr. W. Robertson Nicoll's "Expositor's Greek Testament" and the "Polychrome Bible," edited by Prof. Paul Haupt, of the Johns Hopkins University.

G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS announce these new issues in the Heroes of the Nation Series: "Ulysses S. Grant and the Period of National Preservation and Reconstruction, 1822-1885," by William Conant Church, Bvt. Lieut.-Col. U. S. Vols., editor of *Army and Navy Journal*, author of "The Life of John Ericsson," "Robert E. Lee and the Southern Confederacy, 1807-1870," by Henry Alexander White, of Washington and Lee University. The second and concluding volume of Professor Moses Coit Tyler's "Literary History of the American Revolution." The volume will contain an exhaustive index, and also a very full bibliography. "The American College in American Life," by Charles F. Thwing, President of the Western Reserve University, author of "American Colleges," etc.. An interesting review of the influence which the forces of higher education have exercised upon the life and history of the United States.

HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN & Co. announce among other books "The Critical Period of American History, 1783-1789," by John Fiske, with about 170 illustrations, comprising portraits, maps, facsimiles, contemporary views, prints and other historical materials. "Old Virginia and Her Neighbors," by John Fiske. 2 vols. This work is next in sequence to Mr. Fiske's "Discovery of America." It describes the founding and growth of Virginia, Maryland, the Carolinas and Georgia. "The Westward Movement, the Struggle for the Trans-Allegheny Region, 1763-1797," with full cartographical illustrations from contemporary sources. By Justin Winsor, author of "Christopher Columbus," "Cartier to Frontenac," "The Mississippi Basin," etc. \*\*

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